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An exploration was made of several types of adult education within the Confederate States of America during 1861-65, and of socioeconomic and cultural background factors. The following adult education activities were identified: apprenticeship training on farms and in factories; extension training of army physicians through discussion groups, lectures, and an information-reporting network; religious instruction of civilians through newspapers and special lecturers; and adult basic education for illiterates by means of tutorial and dyad relationships in the army and on the home front. Results of this study support the contention that adult education tends to develop in response to a social crisis or other urgent need. Suggested areas for further research include agricultural education, Protestant adult education, vocational training for the handicapped, and the covert adult basic education of slaves. (author/ly)

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APPRENTICE IN GRAY:
ADULT EDUCATION IN THE CONFEDERACY

a paper

prepared for presentation at the

Tenth National Seminar on Adult Education Research

Toronto, Canada: February 9 - 11, 1969

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Apprentice in Gray: Adult Education in the Confederacy

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This study was an exploration of several types of adult education which existed within the Confederate States of America during the period February, 1861 to May, 1865.

The study was undertaken because it seems apparent that, despite the growing mass of research on the Confederacy, very little research effort has been expended on schools and churches. Unless one consults general histories of education, there is very little to be found about primary, secondary, or higher education in the Confederacy, much less adult education.

This apparent de-emphasis of historical investigation into Confederate educational activity may be founded not only upon the Southerners' cultural heritage but also upon a necessary concomitant of the Civil War itself, "the tendency of the victor to erase the culture of the vanquished." Henry Steele Commager has pointed out that ". . . what survived or what has failed to survive is also to some degree a matter of power. Over the centuries history has been written by the victor . . . not by the vanquished. One of the less amiable traits of victors in the past has been a deliberate destruction of enemy records and the silencing, often by death, of enemy historians."

During the course of the study, accepted techniques of historical research were used to search secondary and later primary sources. An

answer was sought for the question: (1) What were the social, political, economic, psychological, and religious conditions in the Confederacy which gave rise to adult education? (2) Who were the personalities who recognized the need for such activity and made efforts to encourage the education of adults in the Confederacy? (3) What were the types of adult education which were established in the Confederacy?

For purposes of this study, the several Confederate education activities were considered to be adult education activities if they came within the purview of a definition proposed by Cyril O. Houle: "Adult education is any process by which men or women, singly or in groups, attempt to improve themselves by bringing about changes in their understanding, skills, or sensitivities; or any process by which agents or agencies attempt to help men or women to change in these ways." The several Confederate activities were evaluated also as to whether they were voluntary in nature, conducted part-time, and were goal-directed, systematic, and organized.

In this presentation will be first described briefly the climate of opinion in the ante-bellum South; later will be traced the development of job-related adult education, government adult education, the religious effort, and adult education of the Confederate masses. Finally will be summarized some implications for future research.

* *

The South didn't spring into the conflict wholly unaware. The ideas of a Southern Confederacy and a North-South conflict had been a long time coming. For two hundred years the South had developed an

agrarian culture, a farming way of life, based upon gang use of black labor; only to become literally an agricultural and raw materials source for the highly industrialized machine culture of the North. In the spring of 1861 despite their origins in diverse and racial groups, the Southern people had become an aggressive, homogeneous people who wanted to fight.

That homogeneous people, that older culture, those older Southern ideas and traditions were typically British, the most significant and vital cultural element in determining the homogenity of the American Southerner. It was the Anglo-saxon tradition: English law, English language, English literature, English religion and custom that had determined the American character of both South and North. But because the South with its agriculturally oriented way of life fitted nicely into the English plan of using her colonial dependency as a source of new raw materials, everything Southern: churches, parish and county governments, education systems, architecture, tools, furniture, clothing, correspondence, holidays were to become patterned on the English model.

The frontier of the South lay in the land, a forested mass of 969,000 square miles: low coastal plains, great Mississippi River valley, high plains of the Piedmont, and rising praires west of the Mississippi River. Seeded in Southern soil were vast mineral deposits: gold, silver, copper; yet the soil itself, covered with pines to distant hazy horizons, was largely clay and clay loam, richly productive of monumental crops of hay, wheat, corn, rice, indigo, tobacco, and cotton.

Over this vast arena there abided a climate with long oven-hot summers, a lack of killing frosts, and a rain "which pelted from great heights." Such a climate effected the establishment of industrial and agricultural enterprise because it set limits for the types of crops that could be produced; it also set a limit on the productivity of human labor. Thus, there sprang up a tobacco crop zone, a cotton zone, a sugar zone, a rice zone; and to cultivate these types there developed the distinctive plantation system whose advert had wide-spread social, economic, and political results. It made possible a heavily agrarian economic order with little industry. It made possible the use of a decentralized government based upon a self-confident individualism and upon the political philosophy known as "States Rights." It concentrated wealth in the owner classes and introduced distinctions of wealth and rank among proud men.

Working these 600 million acres of sun, heat, and forest were German Moravians, French Huegenots, Spanish Catholics, English Puritens, and Black African heathens who were divided into four well-defined social classes; the so-called aristocracy or "planter" class, the yeomen class or middle class; the "poor-white" class and the slave class. The "planter" aristocracy was comprised of those who owned 20 slaves or more; they numbered about 26,000. The yeomen class was comprised of farmers in the Piedmont, the mountains, and the low hills; these numbered about 7 1/2 million. A third social class, numbering about 850,000, were hill dwellers on the "moving frontier." They bore the title "poor whites." A fourth class was comprised of those whose

brawn and muscle had created the real basis for Southern wealth; since their first importation in the early 1600's, these black-muscled laborers had grown to more than 3 1/2 million by the outset of the war. Because of the existence of black muscle, the Southerner often considered manual labor as disgraceful; he preferred not to degrade himself by working for others.

Because men like John C. Calhoun claimed that "No Southern man, even the poorest or the lowest will, under any circumstances, submit to perform manual labor. He has too much pride for that, and I rejoice that he has." The Southern Negro bore upon his shoulders the planting, growing, and the harvesting, and much of the skilled and unskilled labor of the city shops.

At the outset of the war, moreover, because there was a common belief that the masses of people were born to obey and not to govern, the social position of unborn generations was fixed. No formal education system had arisen, at least on the widespread basis, in the South. In addition, because of the colonial class system, there had come increasing dependence upon a form of labor and education that was almost universally accepted, apprenticeship, a Southern heritage from the English Poor Laws of 1563. At the birth of the Confederacy, apprenticeship was widely employed throughout the Southern frontier; but despite its value in training, the Southern apprenticeship relationship frequently carried with it certain connotations to the fact that "the apprentice was too poor to obtain an education elsewhere." Such de-emphasis of education before the

war was brought about by the isolated character of the Southern frontier, the planter's cavalier attitude toward the masses, and the individualism of the Southern people. Not only did the Southerner feel that taxation for educational purposed was poor policy, but he felt that free public eudcation was tainted with "pauperism and charity."

At the time of the Civil War the urban industrial pattern of the old South tended toward decentralization; small industries were clustered at turnpike junctions near easily accessible water supplies. Here in the few cities would congregate the business men and industrialists who were widely scorned in the ante-bellum South because "the planting of crops and politics were the only honorable occupations." Several reasons exist for the lack of industry in the pre-war South: skilled labor was scarce and expensive, there was a lack of fixed and working capital, and extensive markets were not available. Before the war not industry but the great cotton and tobacco plantations had created the great South; they had also created a society that was well out of touch with the mechanized and industrialized North.

At the outset of the war the thinking of the South was a mixture of the thought of the aristocratic planter class and of the rural, isolated conservative Southern farmers and growers; both of their thinking was overshadowed by the way they felt about slavery. For this reason the ante-bellum Southerner may have been defensive; he resented criticism. He maintained a stout individualism which was reflected in his belief that the rights of the state were paramount to the Federal government;

that the rights of the county or parish took precedence over those of the state; and that his own personal rights as an individual took prededence over anything else.

In his religion the Civil War Southerner was Protestant and conservative; yet he tended toward a down-to-earth emotionalism which often evidenced itself in overnight staging of revivals and revival movements. So, when the signal gun sounded over Charleston Harbor, the Civil War was to place 5 million white persons and 3 1/2 million slaves against a nation of 21 million people. It was to pit a hastily organized Confederacy with a gross national product of 6 3/4 billion against a self-assured United States with a gross national product of 12 billion. It was to pit a Confederate agricultural society against a Northern industrial society; a brand new Army and almost non-existent navy against an Army and Navy in being. It was hopeless and glorious . . . it was war.

Job-related adult education

As all education, public and private, began to disapear before the onslaught of the war, there arose a critical dependence upon that time-honored educational technique, the apprenticeship. The apprentice was to be found in the factory, the railroad, the cotton field, on the steamboats on the rivers, in the Army and Navy, in the governmental bureau, in the turpentine works, the mines, and the saw mills. Southern apprenticeship, however--the means by which the Southern planter, industrialist, and businessman transmitted their skills and learning to rising generations of labor--was largely bound by colonial custom and

was applied to slave, free black and white labor alike, either by formal written agreement or informal, verbal agreement. Generally, the realtionships, whether formal or informal, provided for a minimum term of service, articles of indenture signed in a court before a witness, and a loco prentis relationship between master and student. Such agreements were common between master and slave, between master and freed man throughout the South during the War. There was no set pattern for the length of service or for what was to be expected from master or apprentice in terms of wages, hours, or quality and quantity of instruction. The apprentice's parents or guardians proposed whatever arrangments they wanted to make but the courts, justices of the peace, and magistrates usually augmented the formal agreement with a stipulation as to the teaching of reading, writing, and some arithmetic. Almost universally no stipulation was made to the type of activities or the standards of work expected from the apprentice. These were to be left to the discretion of the employer.

No standards, on the other hand, were established in the indenture agreements as to the amount of training to be extracted from the employer.

As the universality of its acceptance may indicate, apprenticeship was almost the sole industrial means of training labor, slave and free, in the South during the Civil War. A typical Confederate apprenticeship law, taken in whole from the South's colonial origins, is the Arkansas Apprentice Law, Chapter 11, under date of December 28, 1840, which remained in effect until reconstruction. The Arkansas law provides that the master "shall covenent to teach the apprentice some useful art,

trade or business, and reading, writing, and arithmetic to the rule of three, inclusive."

The Arkansas law is unusual in one respect among apprentice laws of the Confederate South because it makes a special provision for complaints by the apprentice. "The apprentice will be permitted to appear in person against his master where he may accuse him of undeserved or insufficient allowance or guality or quantity of food, clothing, lodging or want of proper instruction." The Arkansas law is unusual in that it stipulates "the want of proper instruction" which other Confederate legislation did not provide.

A typical apprenticeship program in Confederate industry was housed in a cluster of wooden and brick buildings on the James River, the Tredegar factory, which was to become the mainstay of the Confederacy's ordnance establishment. From Tredegar came the torpedos, iron-clad vessels, field guns, projectiles, railroad iron and spikes needed by the Confederacy.

Under the direction of a man whose administrative skills were far ahead of his time, Joseph Reid Anderson, Tredegar was rapidly hiring and training as many Negro workers as could be recruited for the foundries, puddling furnaces, rolling mills, and forges. Although more than half the labor force at Tredegar was already comprised fo slaves in various stages of on-the-job training, Anderson determined to obtain others from plantation owners and gang leaders at rates in 1860 from $175 a year on up. After recruitment and a brief two or three-day orientation period, the workers were assigned to a white journeyman or skilled worker who worked with the slave in a dyadic or tutorial relationship until they were skilled enough for a gang of three or five slaves,

where they were taught team skills of puddling, rolling, and forge work. The white trainers--usually from the northern states--resisted and resented the training system and the resultant competition of trained and black slave labor. This resentment of Northern and Southern white mechanics at the Tredegar works over Anderson's industrial training of the Negro slave erupted many times during the war in the form of strikes, excessive absenteeism, and work disputes.

In addition to the apprenticeship training of Negro slave labor, Anderson had also instituted the apprenticeship training of the youth of the white "aristocracy." Upon the institution of the draft in April, 1862, Anderson like many other draft-exempt occupations: newspapers, government agents, and the like was besieged by applicants. To select only those he felt could stand up to the hard life of the iron plant, Anderson insisted upon aptitude tests for all applicants; and if, in the opinion of the foreman, the youth offered some potential, he was legally bound as an apprentice. Thereafter the white youth was trained by on-the-job, "hands on techniques" in the several branches of the Tredegar manufacturing industry. In April 1861, there were 18 such apprentices at work in Richmond.

The performance standards for apprentice heaters, puddlers, and other positions in the Tredegar plant were established by the requirements of the job itself; in other words, the iron was to be tempered when the trainee detected a certain color in the heated iron; or the rolling of sheets of iron was to be accomplished after the sheets had attained a cherry-red color. Such requirements must have been passed on from the

the white or black instructors to their students by word of mouth alone as the manufacturing process was underway. The lack of universal instruction in reading or writing militated against the recording of more formal job standard. It must be remembered that even if many of these trainer instructors had been able to write instructions for the training of white and black apprentices, few of the apprentices themselves could read or write.

The Negro and white soldiery came to be trained by the military as cooks, wagoners, ambulance drivers, strecher bearers, and hospital attendants; apprenticeship-trained Negroes were utilized by the railroads in great numbers to repair bridges, tracks, and rail beds, but more importantly as skilled conductors, and engineers. Slaves were trained for skilled jobs in the manufacture of gun powder, rifles, and heavy ordnance; of the 400 workmen at the Naval Gunworks in Selma, Alabama, 310 were Negroes.

Apprentice workers, journeymen, and skilled workers were also employed for the cotton mills, the foremost manufacturing industry of the war-time Confederacy. Such workers were used, for example, at the Arcadia, Florida, Cottom Mills; Greenville, Mississippi; Scottsville, Alabama; and at the Soluda Manufacturing Company in Columbia, South Carolina.

The apprenticeship training program in the railroads, telegraph companies, and steamboat lines of the Confederacy required a number of years to bring the student to any degree of industrial efficiency; it was never able to keep up with the demand for highly skilled labor.

The Confederate government made use of the similar adult education techniques. The Confederate Army Medical Corps, under the direction of Surgeon-General Samuel Preston Moore, established an on-the-job research and training network which furnished a good majority of the Confederate medical forces with their first supervised clinical practice.

To train his novices, General Moore established a reporting system intended to "inform the Surgeon General of all pertinent medical facts and problems." The system operated by means of surveys, polls, and questionnaires, much as an educational research network works today. Moore and his fellow administrative physicians sought out medical problems and later tested their solutions on the battlefield and in the hospital ward.

Once a problem had been identified by means of a survey, a committee was appointed to study the problem statistically or in special laboratories which were constructed in the several states. The solutions to the several problems were thereupon disseminated and demonstrated to physicians and surgeons in Confederate units on the line.

On November 18, 1862, for example, Moore addressed a letter to his hospitals:

"With the view of obtaining some additional information on the surgical pathology of the nervous system, medical directors are instructed to require of the medical officers living in their respective districts specific reports of all local or general diseases of the nerves which may have been treated or observed by them resulting from or subsequent upon war wounds or surgical operations."

Such surveys and questionnaires--they were sent out on dysentray, diarrhea, measles, malaria, typhoid fever, smallpox, pneumonia, tuberculosis, bronchitis,

rhumatism, and scurvy--were forwarded to a number of medical societies organized within each army corps. Here, within the confidence of the campaign tent, hospital medical officers and field surgeons met frequently to discuss and compare their surgical techniques and knowledge on the several battlefields of the War. Many units established dissection huts equipped with research instrumentation to permit examination of different types of wounds on battlefield casualties and on cadavers.

One special study was made on the effectiveness of quinine as a prophylactic for malaria; the use of quinine was studied statistically under controlled conditions. Although all data from the study encouraged wide use of the drug, a lack of quinine prevented its more extensive use.

One of the more singular results of the education network took place in 1863 when a group of Confederate surgeons exhausted their supply of bandages and dressing material. Forced to leave live maggots in wounds instead of carefully picking them out as they had been instructed, the surgeons found that maggots would remove infection from wounds and thereby contribute materially to the patients' recoveries. This discovery, which was widely disseminated, antedated the larval theropy techniques which become common only in the late 1930's.

Another outgrowth of the Confederate Medical Corps adult education network was the development of a hospital system for the simultaneous treatment of wounded Confederate soldiers and the training of personnel. In these hospitals were provided the classrooms and clinical opportunities that made possible the successful control of smallpox which Douglas Southall Freeman reports as "the most brilliant achievement of the Confederate Medical Corps." By means of adult classes for both medical officers and

civilian personnel, the Confederate peoples were educated along the line of march of the Confederate Armies to "procure a continuous supply of reliable smallpox virus by vaccinating the healthy children of the neighborhood gratis." Instructions for preparation of the virus were issued through newspapers and circulars and a reliable supply was established which considerably mitigated the effects of the smallpox epidemic in the Confederate Armies.

Moore established a training system for the training of Confederate army surgeons in the hospitals. Stewards who worked on the wards in an administrative capacity were given the opportunity of 9 months to 2 years of study at the Virginia Medical College in Richmond. Their basic training was supplemented by clinical work in war hospitals. During the struggle more than 400 students were trained this way by Confederate Medical officers.

A major training system was established to educate the civilian population to the need for drugs. Because the South was cut off by the Federal blockade, quinine, castor oil, opium, chloroform, ether, morphine, digitalis, and laudanum became increasingly scarce. Moore taught Confederate men and women to harvest herbs, flowers, plants, and tree-barks for use as drugs. Special instruction pieces were published in Confederate newspapers, almanacs, brochures, books, and posters. Later, special circuit riders with speaking ability were hired to tour the Confederacy on horseback; these men made persuasive public speeches and recruited draft-exempt pharmacists to lecture in the towns, thereafter, "the woods became our drug stores." Dogwood berries were processed as a substitute for quinine; cottonwood tea became an antimarlariant drug. Wild cherry bark became a

cough medicine.

An adult education effort of the Confederate Army Medical Corps was the recruiting of supplies and volunteers for the Confederate Army Hospital network throughout the South. Hundreds of soldiers' aid, hospital relief, military aid, volunteer aid, soldiers' relief, and ladies' clothing societies sprang into being. Women met in groups to utilize limited supplies of sewing machines, looms, spinning wheels, pattern tables, and spindles. The volunteers were recruited by newspaper articles written in the Richmond headquarters of the Confederate Army Medical Corps, by circuit riders; and the needs were passed on also by word-of-mouth in an "each one, teach one" relationship throughout the South.

* *

A second Confederate government bureau which employed adult education techniques was the Confederate Nitre and Mining Bureau which taught the Confederate civilian how to manufacture nitre, an important ingredient of gunpowder.

Although a small supply of nitre could be extracted from limestone caves in Tennessee, Georgia, Alabama, and some gunpowder could be smuggled through the Union blockade, the Confederate government could not depend upon these sources. Thus, the Nitre and Mining Bureau, through Major Isaac St. John, its superintendent, was ordered "to explore rapidly but with system for new nitre caves and deposits and to stimulate private enterprise by circular and newspaper publication, personal appeal, and instruction, and by affording facilities for working, prompt payment, and a supply of tools and utensils." Again these adult education efforts assumed several phases: notices were placed routinely and regularly in

newspapers and almanacs; special circulars and brochures were printed and distributed widely; and special agents or out-riders rode from town-to-town appealing to the people, or training them, where necessary, in the operation of a nitrary.

Under Maj. St. John's direction the nitre recovery program achieved considerable success. On May 1, 1862, for example, nitre production had been less than 500 pounds a day throughout the 11 Confederate states. Through widespread education activity of the Confederate agents, the manufacture of nitre from April 15 to June 1862 rose to 24,000 pounds. By August, 1862, nitre production soared to 25,000 pounds a day. By late August and September, 1862, the Secretary of War could state that "the active and methodical actions of the Nitre Corps will supply our demands and make us independent of foreign importations."

Adult education activity took place among Confederate soldiers behind Yankee prison bars. Confederate officers within Union prisons organized debating societies, classes in French, Greek, Latin, and Spanish languages, dancing, and music. Prisoner-of-war governments were established and secession was argued in the House of Representatives. They published newspapers, established debating societies, and organized Schools of Rhetoric, at Johnson's Island, Camp Daniels, and elsewhere.

In the summer of 1863, the Confederate government organized the Confederate States Naval Academy, a sort of on-the-job combat training school for future Confederate Naval officers. Orgainzed under the direction of Secretary of the Navy, Stephen R. Mallory, the Naval school was located upon the S. S. Patrick Henry, a 12,000-ton sidewheel steamer, which was a component in the defensive James River squadran, and had been designated as the ship to be sunk in the main channel of the river if Federal ironclads

ever turned westward toward Richmond. Though designated as a suicide ship, the Patrick Henry was a fully rigged ship of the line; she carried an adequate complement of guns, and living quarters for 13 instructors and 52 midshipmen. Classes were offered in seamanship, naval tactics, gunnery, infantry tactics, navigation, surveying, Frence, Spanish, algebra, trigonomatry, and so forth. Whenever an alarm was given that Federal troops were approaching Richmond, the Cadates were called to general quarters to use cutlasses and rifles, if necessary to defend themselves and a bridge over the James River near Wilton, Virginia. In its 1 1/2 years, the Academy appointed 106 midshipman of whom 26 were graduated.

In other efforts in adult education resorted to by the Confederate government, direct oral appeals were made to the Southern people to educate them to various needs of the government. We have already seen how Surgeon-General Moore used outriders to recruit volunteers to raise durg supplies and to establish a hospital system; in this case, outriders were employed to educate the people at the outset of the war to recruit moneys for the war effort. Congressional orators and speechmakers became agents in each of their respective states to educate the people about the bond offerings. Congressmen and agents haranged throngs of Confederate citizens, employing the flowing rhetoric typical of the Southern colonial heritage. Between May, 1862, and July, 1862, the Confederate people promised to pay $50 million in cotton for the purchase of bonds.

A similar oral education effort took place in the last feverish days of the lying Confederacy when Confederate peace efforts at Hampton Roads came to grief against Lincoln's inflexible insistence upon restoration of the Union.

After Hampton Roads there occurred a resurgence of that educative rhetoric in an effort to revitalize the Southern fighting spirit. President Davis took to the pulpit of the African Church in Richmond on February 6, 1865, and there exhorted 10,000 listeners with a ringing harange that compelled his bitter enemy, Edward Pollard, editor of the Richmond Examiner, to state: "He could not recollect ever to have been so much moved by the power of words spoken for the same space of time." Similar gatherings were addressed by R. M. T. Hunter, Judah P. Benjamin, Secretary of War, Congressmen and Cabinet officials. Other speakers took to horseback, gallopin; from Richmond to the outer boundaries of the Confederacy. In Columbus, Macon, and Forsyth, Georgia, Benjamin Hill and T. M. R. Cobl shouted to the people to unite behind the Federal government, that the Confederacy could never be beaten if it would only fight with its full resources.

Supporting these speakers were clergymen of the several denominations speaking from their pulpits, and a group of citizens who organized a patriotic publishing association in Richmond and began publishing leaflets, pamphlets, and brochures on a 24-hour basis to revitalize civilian moral.

One interesting aspect of adult education in the Confederacy is the governments recognition of the need for vocational training for its new Indian citizens. In the several articles of treaties and conventions between the Confederate States of America and the Indians tribes within its boundaries, the Confederate government promised to pay $15,000 a

year to educate Indian youths in manual labor schools; and to employ white teacher-farmers for each reservation to instruct the Indians in the cultivation of the soil.

There were other programs of adult education in the Confederacy: One type was the on-the-job training conducted in the several state penitentiaries. At the outset of the war all Southern states except North Carolina, and Florida had penal facilities. The greater number were organized under the so-called Auburn system in which each prisoner was confined to a single cell; and when working as a group, were required to work in total silence. In a rigidly controlled "each one teach one" arrangement, prisoners taught their fellow prisoners the arts and mysteries of the trades. The state of Louisiana trained its war-time prisoners as cotton mill and textile mill workers, and as shoemakers for shoe factories. Other institutions trained prisoners as blacksmiths, cabinet makers, coopers, coachmakers, and millers.

At the Tennessee State penitentiary during the war--despite a shortage of basic materials--prisoners were trained as cabinet makers, blacksmiths, cooks, shop repairmen, clothes patchers, coopers, carpenters, turners, painters, wool carders, trimmers, chair coverers, soap makers, millers, and mattress makers.

Adult education was basic to the religious training of the Southern soldier and civilian. When the war broke out at Fort Sumter in April, 1861, religion and patriotism were almost synonomous in the South. At the outset there arose an almost deep commitment to the aims of the new nation as expressed in religious and patriotic terms.

The Confederate adult religious education assumed several forms: it was in part a revival; in part, an educat on through the employment of mass media, such as religious newspapers and tracts; and finally, it took the form of a volunteer effort in the form of a Chaplains Association, soldiers' churches, and soldiers' Christian associations. Participating in the effort were the government and the Protestant and Catholic chruches.

Opening phase of the education campaign was the churches' encouragement of legislation leading to the assignment of Confederate Army chaplains. Later the chaplains of the military services, who often led their parishioners into battle with as loud a rebel yell as their fellows, established front-line libraries, hospitals, reading rooms and in many cases instituted adult basic education programs among the illiterate. In March, 1863, for example, classes were being held at the front which were based upon MacGuffey's First Reader and upon the principal of "each one teach one." The Reverend R. Ryland instructed his students to go forth to "teach their comrades."

At the Chimborazo hospital in Richmond in 1863 representatives of the Soldiers' Book and Tract Society of the Southern Methodist Church were teaching hospitalized patients how to read and write; the Bible was their text.

Assisting the chaplains were special religious agents or missionaries called colporteurs, men who were paid by their particular denomination. These men traveled the camps, the hospitals, and the bivouac areas distributing Bibles, tracts, brochures, and making spontaneous sermons whenever the opportunity offered.

A major adult education effort was the publication of pocket-sized tracts, which attempted to educate the soldier to a basic religious dogma; and taught him also to guard against the sins of an evil army life, and exhorted them to the maintenance of a sound mind and body. Leaflets were titled Profane Swearing, Why Do You Swear?, A Gamblers Balance Sheet, Prepare for Battle, A Word of Warning for the Sick Soldier, Suffering of the Lost, and A Mother's Parting Words to Her Soldier Boy; this latter publication gained a circulation of more than 250,000 copies in its first year of publication. By late 1863 more than 30 million such tracts had been printed, colated, and distributed by the Virginia Sunday School and Publication board alone.

Throughout the war religious revivals were another major adult education effort in the Confederacy; they were staged in various units along the fighting lines almost continuously and at one time or another involved most Confederate units. Revivals were encouraged by the Confederate staff and high ranking officers because they felt that there was a marked perceptible difference between the morale of the regiment furnished with "religion and a good chaplain and one which had none." Apparently the revivals began in the Stonewall Jackson Corps about the first week of 1862 and by winter the revivals had reached new emotional and evangelical heights. Thousands professed religion; from August 1863, to the close of the year more than 5,000 Confederate soldiers confessed faith in a Divine Being in Lee's armies alone.

By far the most effective and extensive adult education mass medium in the Confederacy during the four years of the War was the newspaper. Indeed,

Coulter categorizes the Confederate newspaper "as the medium most responsible for the loss of morale and the resulting loss of the war by the Confederate States." Confederate newspapers at one and the same time heroically supported the Confederate mission; and materially aided to the downfall of the new government by their pathlogical criticism of Davis, cabinet officials, army generals, and the progress of the war. Not only did irresponsible newspaper editors call Davis "a blockhead" but they pounced on every blunder and passed on, through their columns, a constant stream of intelligence and military data that rendered obsolete whatever element of surprise the Confederate forces might have possessed.

On July 3, 1861, for example, a few days before the Battle of the First Manassas, the North Carolina Standard of Raleigh, North Carolina, published eight columns of news items, among which were:

> "The Southern force at Rodney amounts to 15,000.
>
> Colonel Jackson with five regiments is opposite Williamsport.
>
> There are 4,000 Confederate troops at Falling Water five miles from Willimasport and 8,000 at various points near Hancock and Harpers Ferry.
>
> Forty Confederate calvary crossed the Potomac near Williamsport and burned Shadfield ferry.
>
> Governor Wise has gone to attack the Federalists now said to be advancing up the Kanawha.
>
> It is reported that Governor Jackson is at Pomme de Terre with 1,200 men."

To offset the disloyal Confederate editors, others educated the people to support specific objectives: to build gunboats; to use pikes in the front lines; to establish a commerically independent Confederacy.

Virtually the sole mass adult education media with any significant circulation, the newspapers attempted to educate the people to the need for industrial reform and the possibilities of respecting those citizens who worked with their hands. Because the South had never been an industrial economy, major Confederate publications began a campaign in June, 1861, against the Southern's bias towards industry and commercial purseuts: "Let no one in whatever hemisphere he may have been reared, whether rich or poor, educated or illiterate, look down on manufacturing enterprises or mechanical pursuite as beneath his dignity."

One significant newspaper campaign was the campaign to limit cotton production. In 1861, for example, when the cotton harvest numbered 4,500,000 bales, newspapers could report scarcely a year later that the entire cotton crop totaled only 1 1/2 million bales.

Agricultural extension articles appeared in newspapers throughout the South: how to plant potatoes, corn, wheat, rye, rice; how to fatten hogs and cattle; and how to prepare the soils, etc.

Small regional campaigns were waged by newspapers that bordered on the Mississippi River; as General Grant and his gunboats prowled the waters around Island 10, the Memphis Daily Appeal on April 30, 1862, cired: Make every tree, stump, ditch, and culvert a lair for long rifles and sharpshooters; sight every living object aboard gunboats and transports; make the river a gauntlet of fire and a path of terror."

The newspaper was a major factor also in Confederate attempts to educate the citizens of England and France to the South's war aims. In England a newspaper called The Index was published by a Swiss native, a

former writer for the Mobile Register, Henry Hotze. The Index, through Hotze's efforts, soon attained respectable status in English journalism. It presented a dignified typography, style, and content and became a means of reaching public opinion and a channel trough which arguments and facts could be conveyed to the English government itself.

Other mass adult education media included almanacs and business papers. In general the almanac managed to continue publishing throughout the war, but many had to cut their contents and employ cheap papers. The almanace, as omnipresent as the Bible in Confederate homes, contained recipes, news items, poetry, various medical and drug remedies, first aid instructions, detailed registers of legislators, congressional legislation, and the like.

Such almanacs included Warrocks Virginia and North Carolina Almanac, the Confederate States Almanac and Repository of Useful Information, Clark's Confederate Household Almanac, the Pocket Almanac of the Petersburg Evangelical Tract Society, and Miller's Planters' and Merchants' States Right's Almanac, which contained the Hebrew calendar, astronomical calculations, tables of the tides, Episcopal festivals and fasts, a gardening guide, and a Gregorian calendar.

Summary

Within the purview of Cyril Houle's definition, the following adult education activities were identified within the Confederate States of America during the period of the Civil War: apprenticeship training on the farm and in the factory; extension training of Confederate army physicians by means of discussion groups, lectures, and a reporting information network; religious instruction of the Confederate civilians

by the use of newspapers and special lecturers; the adult basic education of the illiterate by means of tutorial and dyad relationships in the army and on the home front.

The results of this study support Verner and Booth's contention that adult education tends to develop in answer to some social crisis or urgent need. The study shows that Confederate change agents in the government, industry, religion, and mass communications turned instinctively to adult education techniques to train, orient, and indoctrinate Confederate soldiery and citizenery to desired behavioral changes.

Future Research

Several areas for future research were suggested by data from the study. They include: (1) The adult education role of the agricultural society of the ante-bellum South. (2) The adult basic education activities of the Protestant Church during the colonial period, 1609-1800. (3) The vocational training conducted by the schools for the deaf, dumb, and blind in the South, one of the ante-bellum South's almost wholly unpublicized yet entirely worthy biracial humanitarian efforts. (4) The covert adult basic education effort mounted by black and white adults to teach the black slaves in the ante-bellum South during the war. (5) The role of the agricultural informer in establishing an "nvisible agricultural college" for planters of the ante-bellum South.

"Invisible agricultural college" is defined as the network of informal and word-of-mouth contacts between planters of the ante-bellum South in which agricultural information was exchanged on agricultural practices.

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